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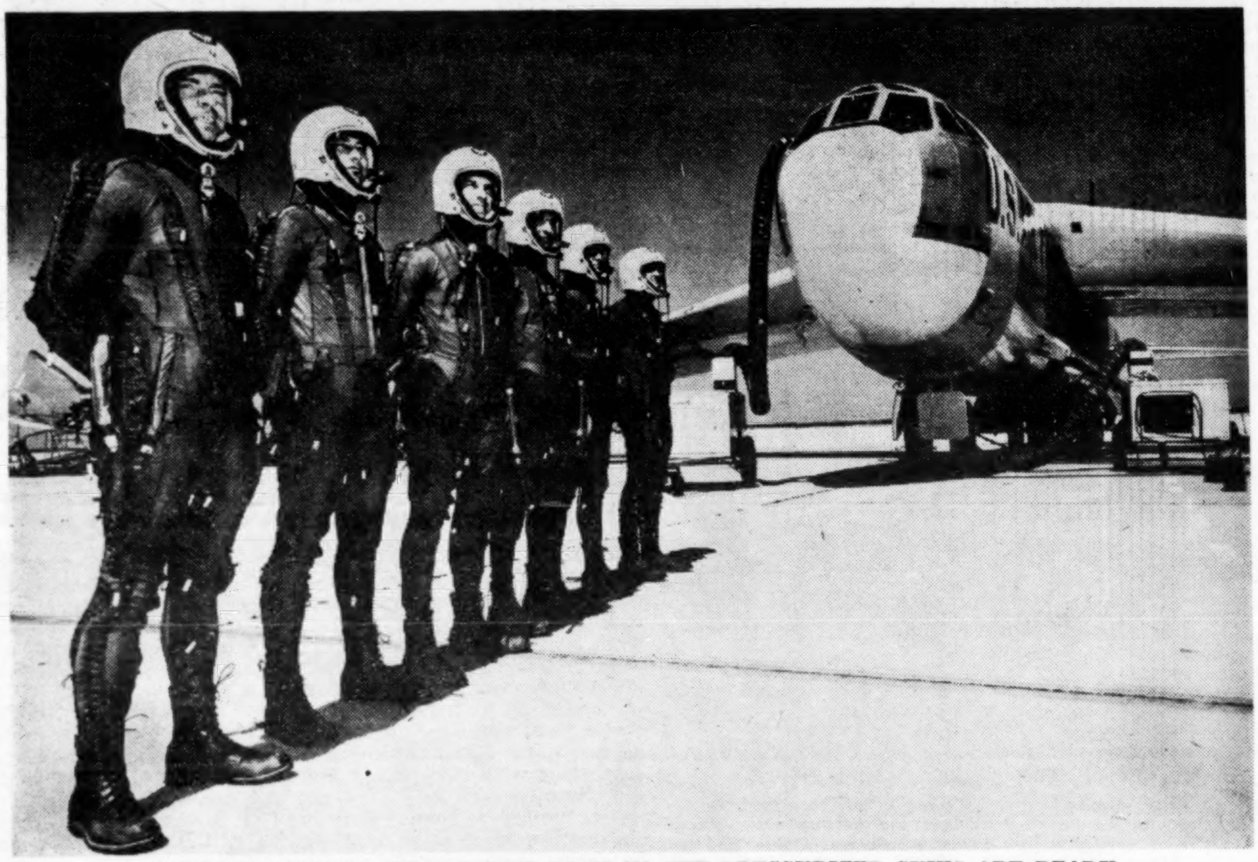
HOAX OF CIVIL DEFENSE—II

The 'strike first' madness, and how it's being peddled



OPERATION FIRST STRIKE: THE BOYS IN THE PRESSURIZED SUITS ARE READY
Everyone has to believe Americans are willing to annihilate their fellow men (see right)

By Robert E. Light
(Second of a series)

AT THE TOMB of the Unknowns at Arlington National Cemetery on Veterans Day, President Kennedy said: "In the end, the only way to maintain the peace is to be prepared in the final extreme to fight for our country and to mean it. As a nation we have little capacity for deception. We can convince friend and foe alike that we are in earnest about the defense of freedom only if we are in earnest. And I can assure the world that we are in earnest."

In Atlanta on the same day, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara said that interference with U.S. rights and obligations would bring war. He warned that "we cannot afford to lower our guard" because "weakness . . . invites aggression."

If bellicosity seemed paradoxical on the day the nation mourned its war dead, it was no more contradictory than the new "national posture" which advocates peace through preparing to strike the first nuclear blow. The new pugnacious posture is known as "Counterforce" or "Credible First Strike Capability," in which Civil Defense is an integral part.

AIR FORCE IDEA: As the cold war has continued, the inevitable pressure for a more "efficient" military machine has changed the national posture from "Containment" to "Massive Retaliation" to "Counterforce." In the continuing debate in the Pentagon, the Navy has favored a deterrence system based on a strong retaliatory force (e.g., Polaris submarines), arguing that the U.S.S.R. would not attack if it knew that it would be wiped out in a retaliatory strike. The Army has tended to agree, with emphasis on its own weapons.

But the Air Force has held out for "Counterforce" and apparently it has won. The Gaither and Rockefeller

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HAVANA EXPECTS ANOTHER U.S.-SPONSORED ATTACK

Ominous signs of a new Cuba invasion

By Cedric Belfrage

HAVANA

IT IS NOW generally believed here that a further invasion attempt sponsored by the U.S. will be tried soon. This conclusion is drawn from recent events which seem to be a repetition and extension of the events preceding the Playa Giron fiasco of last April.

With a flood of reports of a new invasion force in training, U.S. diplomatic pressure steadily increases to line up Latin American countries against Cuban "communism," on the pretext of Cuban "interference" in those countries' internal affairs. This campaign gets propaganda ammunition from the popularity of Fidel Castro's revolution throughout Latin America: any manifestation of support for it can be portrayed as "Cuban interference" or "subversion" by the reactionary press.

REBUFF IN OAS: On the governmental level the anti-Cuban front now stretches all down the waist of the double continent from Mexico's southern border, but most major Latin American countries are sticking to the non-intervention principle set forth in the Organization of American States charter. Ultra-rightist Peru was the best stooge Washington could find to sponsor a petition to OAS to "investigate" Cuban "violations to human rights."

The proposal, seen by most OAS members as a threat to their own already-limited sovereignty, ended in the OAS procedures commission, thus being shelved. Cuba's ambassador Lechugo had the opportunity to remind the OAS that in Peru—the virtually U.S.-owned and operated country complaining about "human rights" in Cuba—10-year-olds work for half a cent a day, "estates are sold together with Indians and cattle" and about 90% of the people are illiterate, starving and diseased.

With regard to the "powerful subversive propaganda" Peru accused Cuba of broadcasting, Lechugo gave a recent example of the continent-wide lies and distortions which Cuba's shortwave radio exists to counteract. When the Argentine government last month repudiated as forgeries some documents allegedly proving Cuban "interference," the news was

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Report to Readers: The man who never came to dinner

FOR THE GUARDIAN'S 13th anniversary banquet in New York Friday evening, Nov. 10, we decided last September to invite as our principal speaker an old friend and counselor and contributor to our columns since our earliest days—Konni Zilliacus, Member of Parliament and unextinguishable rebel in the ranks of the British Labor Party. Veteran of the old League of Nations secretariat, probably the best-informed man on world diplomacy in the English-speaking world, author of 16 books on this and allied subjects, master of ten languages, tireless globetrotter and fresh from (1) an afternoon with Khrushchev on the eve of the Soviet test announcement; and (2) the fifth annual East-West Roundtable in Rome in September (pause for breath), he seemed to us just the ticket to help us all get our bearings in today's frazzled world situation.

We knew he had been denied a visa in 1949 when Henry Wallace invited him here to join a speaking tour, but they say things have changed since the Fair Deal days and, even though Zilliacus is a Yale man, we thought we just might sneak him through the New Frontier's outer guard.

IT WAS NOT SO TO BE. Zilliacus applied for his visa on Oct. 11 at our Consulate on his return from Rome to London. They were polite and helpful and said they'd send his application right on to the Embassy with a request for all speed. But since Z. is who he is, and not just A. or B., the Embassy had to send it on to Washington. Meanwhile, abundantly confident as always, Z. wrote to his good friend Senator Hubert Humphrey, who had back-slapped him at the East-West Roundtable and invited him to palaver when he came to the States; to Senator Clark of Pennsylvania, Adlai Stevenson and a selection of scholarly acquaintances here hoping to pack in exchanges of views along with a beehive of other meetings and radio and TV engagements during a five-week coast-to-coast flying trip, Nov. 8 to Dec. 15. And, since Mrs. Zilliacus is California-born, she hoped to find some time to spend with her folks.

Anyway, when time rolled on right up to Election Day with no visa forthcoming, we sent a telegram to Secretary of State Rusk, reminding him of the approaching date of our affair, and urging that the visa be expedited. On Nov. 8 we got a telegram from Robert F. Hale, director of the visa office at the State Dept., saying: APPLICATION RECEIVING URGENT CONSIDERATION. HOWEVER IMPOSSIBLE TO COMPLETE PRIOR NOVEMBER 10.

We did a lot of things then, including telephoning to the State Dept., but when nothing new happened by Nov. 9 we issued a statement to the New York Times and other possibly interested outlets asserting that we

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THE MAIL BAG

Arms race, in reverse

CHAPEL HILL, N.C.

If we build three bombs, the Russians build four; and if the Russians build four, we build five. This is the historic process known as the armaments race. The end has always been war. This time, of course, it will be different. It will be suicide. It seems to me that suicide, while it does obliterate all our troubles, is not a very good defense.

As regards that oldest weapon known to man, **terror** — it seems to me that this has been worn out by both sides of the present controversy. After all, we were the ones who surrounded the Soviet Union with terroristic bases. Indeed, we have been terrorizing the Russians ever since the Kolchak rebellion, when we actively intervened.

In my opinion, we should play a different kind of game. When the Russians build 1000 ICBMs, we should build 750; when the Russians build 500, we should build 300. In doing this, we are progressing toward a happier goal: peace.

In the present struggle, the ends do not justify the means. Even if we lose the ideological struggle and have to live in a world wherein the economy is a publicly owned complex, life in such a system would still be, for ourselves and for our children, far preferable to nuclear cremation.

Vernon Ward

Two-way problem

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Now we learn that the U.S. will undoubtedly resume tests in the atmosphere, too. Why? Simply for its security; to make up the lag in improved weapons; to test the neutron bomb, etc. Well then, if the U.S. finds it necessary to resume tests, why all this condemnation on our part of Soviet Russia?

We must remember that Soviet Russia set a fine example when it unilaterally stopped testing, but the U.S. continued for six months more, polluting the atmosphere. Where was the hue and cry then against our unjustified action? If we were guilty then of contaminating the air, why is the Soviet Union any more guilty now?

H. K.

Not an example

NEW YORK, N.Y.

It is surprising, to say the least, that Khrushchev gets the first support for his claim to the necessity of nuclear tests from the U.S.A.

His arguments are that, even without regard to the encirclement of the Soviet Union by our bases, the building up of West Germany to the most formidable atomic military power in Western Europe, the increase of our military expenses by $5 billion —while we are talking of disarmament—the provocation by sending more troops and holding maneuvers in West Berlin signify the most serious danger for Soviet security, while we have not the slightest proof of any threat or aggressive intentions by the Soviets to West Berlin.

The same day the U.N. decided to debate immediately the U.S.-British draft treaty calling for the prohibition of tests, the A.E.C. officially prepares to restore the Eniwetok proving grounds—nearer to Japan than Siberia—for atomic tests in the atmosphere and Sec. Dean Rusk clearly indicates that the U.S. would not feel bound by a U.N. resolution calling for a voluntary moratorium on atomic testing.

The nations of the world, liking Soviet atomic fallout as little as American, will not appreciate the principle of our schoolboy mentality: "When you are naughty, I am naughty too."

Dr. John H. Beck

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Assistant Building Inspector Judson Beavers said an unidentified man called him and asked if he could have a fallout shelter built at night "so his neighbors won't find out about it." He said the caller will have the workmen arrive in business suits.

Daily News, Oct. 26
—Washington (D.C.)

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: M. H., Washington, D.C.

An obliging chap

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

James Aronson's comment in the review of Matthews' book that "the tragedy of American journalism is that the journalists have done what they have done—and continue to do in Cuba and elsewhere—**without** directive" reminded me of the little poem:

You cannot hope to bribe or twist,
Thank God, the British journalist!
But seeing what the chap will do
Unbribed, there's no occasion to.

Florence H. Luscomb

Significant quotes

LOS ANGELES, CAL.

Adenauer (12/13/51): "Our chief reason for wanting to enter the European Army is to be able to recover our eastern territories." And (3/16/52): "The rearmament of West Germany should be the preparation for a new order in Eastern Europe." And (9/8/53): "We speak always of reunification. Should we not rather say: 'Liberation of the East?' " Jakob Kaiser, Minister for All-German Affairs (4/19/53): "We can never forget that it has been and that it remains the endeavor of every German to conquer the east and the southeast." Franz Joseph Strauss, Minister Without Portfolio (3/19/54): "The duties the future German soldiers will face will be the same as those faced by the older generation of soldiers."

These are almost word for word the philosophy and program of aggression as proclaimed and pursued by the Nazis. They are now the declared aims of the leaders of West Germany, the new Mein Kampf.

Today's provocations in Berlin could spark the ultimate step, the world enveloped in a nuclear holocaust in fulfillment of the aims of a restored German militarism. If Soviet tests can forestall this threat, a mild dose of radiation is preferable to the outright deaths of a thousand Hiroshimas.

Frank A. Kondray

Belsky in the London Daily Herald

"People are getting soft. When I was a suffragette they had to FILE me off the railings."

Worthless stock

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The German Democratic Republic (East Germany) has been in existence and functioning for 12 years. Each person sent to West Berlin by the U.S. without permission of the GDR is a violation of the national sovereignty of the GDR.

But JFK has said, in effect: "The German Democratic Republic doesn't exist, because we don't recognize it," and JFK is an honorable man, so are they all, all honorable men, who hatched the invasion of Cuba.

The German Democratic Republic is a government in fact, so is the Federal Republic of West Germany; and the remainder of Germany was made part of Poland by the Potsdam Treaty —so the nation of Germany no longer exists. And the U.S. treaty rights in a non-existent nation are like shares of stock in a defunct corporation—worthless.

Charles Paxton

An honest mistake

CUMMINGTON, MASS.

Since you published my letter to Senator Leverett Saltonstall (Rep.-Mass.), I think it is only fair to him that you also publish **this** letter.

I received a warm and sympathetic reply from Senator Saltonstall. While he agreed that there is some evidence to support my allegations, he said he could not agree that the policy of the West German government or of our own is dictated by former members of the Nazi Party.

On thinking this over, I believe the Senator is right. I believe that the policies of both governments are dictated by the international cartels.

Margaret A. Fellows

Books wanted

CHICAGO, ILL.

The Chicago Council of the African-American Heritage Association is building a collection of books by and about people of African descent.

The collection is to be known as the Jean Baptiste Pointe DuSable Collection, in honor of the Afro-American first settler and founder of the city of Chicago.

We invite readers with books by and about people of African descent and related subjects to send any books that they have to the DuSable Collection, 306 East 43rd St., Chicago 53.

Ishmael Flory, Director

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

WHEN COLLIER'S PRODUCED its "World War III Preview" issue last month, the GUARDIAN (Oct. 24) anticipated that "world-wide disgust and horror" would further hasten disintegration of the "Free World" alliance. First comments in Western Europe range from French ridicule and alarm to British melancholy. At the Chaillot Palace in Paris, where diplomats and newsmen of the world gathered for the UN Assembly, **Collier's** was prominently displayed on the newsstand. Notably absent from it were issues of the **Nation**, **New Republic** and **New Statesman and Nation** containing acid Anglo-Saxon comment.

The French liberal weekly **L'Observateur** remarked: "In telling us their dreams the 23 Americans [the **Collier's** writers] have rendered a great service to the people of the continent. Those who had forgotten that a gulf separates American thinking from European thinking suddenly perceive that the gulf has grown larger in recent years. Those who saw only the strength of the U.S. discover its weakness. And those who have the greatest confidence in the American will to peace are seized with the irresistible urge to cry out to those sleepwalkers that it is high time to wake up and give up their terrible dreams."

—From the National Guardian, Nov. 21, 1951

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REPORT TO READERS

The Guardian's dinner

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believed it to be "fear of Congressional criticism, rather than fear of Zilliacus' views, which has caused the State Dept. to shuffle his application until beyond the date for which he planned to use it." Noting that Zilliacus might not be able to come at a later date, we remarked that a visa thus delayed was a visa denied, and that such an action could hardly enhance U.S. prestige at home or abroad. A stinger of a **Times** editorial the morning after the dinner, observing that the application had been "studied to death," added this comment:

"This is the sort of thing that we hoped the State Department had outgrown years ago. Is the United States really so afraid of Mr. Zilliacus that it dare not let him come here to attend a dinner? There is no better way to insult British opinion and build Mr. Zilliacus up at home. The officials dealing with visa applications should realize that this is 1961, and that the time for quivering at the thought of a Zilliacus visiting the United States is over."

The **Times** hit the nail rather squarely on the head, we thought, except for the by-blow about building Z. up at home. Z.'s cabled message to the dinner (which we will try to find space for at a later date, along with editor James Aronson's remarks at the dinner on the episode), called the State Dept.'s delaying tactic "a hypocritical way of turning me down, withal that I am a Member of Parliament and entitled to as much consideration as U.S. Congressmen and Senators who come here."

Anyone can well imagine the commotion which would result should Britain or even the U.S.S.R. bar a member of the U.S. Congress. So we can be sure we have by no means heard the end of the Zilliacus affair. His London phone was busy all that week end with calls from the London press.

THE BANQUET was nonetheless a most delightful evening, if we do say so ourselves. More people came than ever before, almost 800, so that tables had to be set up on the balconies, and at the appropriate moment in a birthday celebration, a parade of youngsters marched in bearing images of the **GUARDIAN** Angel, one for each of our years, and chorused a **Happy Birthday** with the dinner guests chiming in. The parade included (listed alphabetically, not by age and stage of growth) Stephen Becker, Benjamin Bedell, Charles Burnham, Frank Cadden, Karen Jane Gilmore, Bonnie Heller, Donald and Robert Norrington (twins), David Robeson, Mark Sobell, Amy Spain, Marc Sullivan, Paul Wagner; and, for that extra one-to-grow-on, riding the shoulders of actor Elliot Sullivan, 4-year-old Mike Perkins.

Our speakers included Anne Braden of the Southern Conference Educational Fund and Len Holt, Virginia attorney who with his law associates is fighting segregation laws all over the South; David Wesley, a frequent guest expert on world affairs for the GUARDIAN; and Aronson and McManus for the staff.

Our guests of honor, in the order in which they were introduced, were Laura Albizu Campos, wife of the imprisoned Puerto Rican Nationalist Party leader and a member of Cuba's mission to the UN; Rockwell Kent; Helen Sobell; Conrad Lynn, attorney in the Monroe, N.C., "kissing case" and since then for Robert Williams, who is now in refuge in Cuba as a result of his aggressive fight against segregation in Monroe; Mrs. Rose Arenal, sister-in-law of David Alfaro Siquieros, Corliss Lamont, who arrived at the dinner fresh from a trip to Mexico in Siquieros' behalf (see p. 4); Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, national chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and symbol of the developing fight on the McCarran Act; and Frank Donner, labor and civil liberties attorney and author of **The Un-Americans**.

The affair was run from start to finish—with staging help from Elliot Sullivan and pianist Irma Jurist as our anthemist—by the GUARDIAN's Theodora Peck. As Miss Peck and her crew assembled at the Hotel Roosevelt on the early evening of Nov. 10 to put the finishing touches on the arrangements, a Hotel Roosevelt waiter greeted her with:

"Welcome back, Miss Peck! When is the GUARDIAN going to be a daily?"

—THE GUARDIAN

A FIRST-HAND ACCOUNT OF THE 22ND CONGRESS IN MOSCOW

Soviet CP writes an end to the Stalin era

By W. G. Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

MOSCOW

THE 22ND CONGRESS of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union last month was assured of exceptional importance in that it outlined a 20-year plan to build communism and it reformed party rules to prevent personal dictatorship. But as events developed, the meeting acquired a significance none but a few at the top could have foreseen.

Everything started normally enough, although the setting—modernistic glass building among the ancient Kremlin palaces and churches, with escalators to whisk delegates to the conference hall—symbolized a break with the past.

On opening day there were a few surprises for western correspondents. A nattily dressed Nikolai Bulganin was sitting among the delegates. When the 15 members of the Presidium took their seats, there was Arverky Aristov (many correspondents "dropped" Aristov from the Presidium months ago). When Premier Khrushchev gave his six-hour report there were two unexpected developments—the open attacks on the leadership of the Albanian party, and the addition of Klimenti Voroshilov's name to the so-called "anti-party group." (Voroshilov was sitting in the front row of the tribune, red of face and fumbling with his papers whenever his name was mentioned.)

ALBANIA ATTACK: The fact that the "anti-party group" was discussed at all surprised some observers. Khrushchev's report dealt with the period since the 20th Congress in 1956 (the 21st, in 1959, was an "extraordinary" Congress called only to approve the seven-year plan). The group led by Vyacheslav M. Molotov and Georgi M. Malenkov tried to take power in June, 1957, so the matter was bound to be included in the report.

Another surprise came on the third day, when Chou En-lai sharply criticized as non-Marxist-Leninist the raising of the Albanian question in an "open and unilateral way." Subsequent speeches by heads of the Asian delegations—Indonesia, India, Vietnam, Japan, and others—did not mention Albania, although the European and Latin American delegations all followed Khrushchev's lead in condemning Albania's leaders.

KHRUSHCHEV HELPS UNVEIL A MARX MONUMENT
Behind the Premier at a Moscow ceremony (l. to r.): Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan, unidentified man, Presidium members Mikhail Suslov and Frol Koslov, Italian CP leader Palmiro Togliatti, unidentified man, E. German Premier Walter Ulbricht. Soviet Defense Minister Marshal Rodion Malinowsky.

As the congress developed, it became clear that the question of Albanian party leadership, the "anti-party group's" activities, the "personality cult" and the changed party statutes were all elements of one problem—how to put an end to everything connected with the Stalin era, and guarantee its non-repetition. Each speaker added his revelations, and in a summing up, Khrushchev painted a horrifying picture of what had been going on under Stalin, and the sort of regime that, Khrushchev said, Molotov, Malenkov and Lazar M. Kaganovich wanted to perpetuate or re-introduce.

For most of the delegates, the general picture of repressions and wholesale murder under Stalin was not new. They had known of this from personal experience or at least from the Khrushchev report presented in secret session at the 20th Congress. But this report had never been made public. And for delegates and public alike, the extent to which Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov allegedly were involved was new. The situation in June, 1957—when Molotov and his followers controlled the party Presidium and it was touch and go whether or not they were going to run the country—was disclosed for the first time. (All convention delegate speeches were reported in full in the main daily papers.)

NEW MATERIAL: Alexander Shelyepin, the young chief of the Committee for State Security, which replaced the dissolved Ministry of the Interior, had dug up material from the files of the secret police which indicated that many people were executed under Stalin with the approval of Molotov, Kaganovich and others, each appending his signature to Stalin's and adding some words of opprobrium in condemning or rejecting appeals of former comrades. In many cases it was Molotov who signed orders of arrest which led to execution.

Khrushchev, in summing up, said that after the war he had discovered that Sergo Ordjonikidze (Commissar of Heavy Industry) had not died of heart trouble, as reported at the time, but had committed suicide because his brother had been arrested and shot. Also, the Premier charged, Alyeshi Svanidze, brother of Stalin's first wife and one of Stalin's closest friends, was shot because Beria said he was a German "spy."

Khrushchev also said that Sergei M. Kirov, supposedly another of Stalin's "closest friends," was murdered in 1934, and this was pretext for wholesale arrests and the killing of thousands of leaders from all walks of Soviet life. Khrushchev said the case has been reopened, and he made it clear that he suspects that Stalin arranged the murder of Kirov specifically to justify the purge. He said that Kirov's bodyguard was not on the spot at the time of the murder; that the chief of Kirov's security guard was later called to attend an investigation but was killed on the way, and that the two security escorts who killed the guard were also killed before the investigation could take place.

THE MOLOTOV BID: Molotov and the others were accused of having kept silent during the 20th Congresss when the Stalin-Beria period was denounced, but with having fought later against implementation of the 20th Congress decisions to end the "personality cult" period.

This was the story the speakers told: Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov formed the hard core of dissidents. They enlisted the aid of Bulganin, Shepilov, Mikhail Pervukhin, Voroshilov and Maxim Zaburov for the Presidium meeting in June, 1957. The Molotov group counted on its majority—eight in a Presidium of 11. At the meeting there was an all-out attack on Khrushchev's policies, starting with Molotov's demand that Malenkov be made minister of agriculture. Khrushchev demanded a plenary meeting of the CC. The Presidium balked at this, but Khrushchev managed to get word out as to what was going on, and a CC meeting was held at short notice. Here Khrushchev was on "home ground," and all but Molotov of the dissident group capitulated and voted with the rest of the CC in approving the Khrushchev line. Molotov abstained.

In his Congress report, Khrushchev said that Kaganovich telephoned him after the defeat and said: "I've known you many years. I ask you not to permit me to be dealt with in the way people were punished in Stalin's time." Khrushchev reported that he replied: "Comrade Kaganovich, your words confirm once again what methods you intended to use to attain your infamous ends. You wanted to turn the country back to the sort of regime that existed during the 'personality cult'; you wanted to inflict severe punishment on people. You judge others by your own standards. But you are mistaken. We firmly observe and will continue to support Leninist principles. You will get work—you can quietly work and live, if you work honestly as other Soviet citizens do."

EARLIER CASE: It was the first time since Lenin's days that in June, 1957, opponents were dealt with in the way Molotov and the others were—eliminated from leadership by a CC decision and given other jobs. Khrushchev at the congress recalled that on the eve of the 1917 revolution, Kamenev and Zinoviev published the secret plans for the insurrection. Lenin had them expelled from the party, but later took them back and promoted them to the party leadership again. (They were tried and killed by Stalin after Lenin's death).

As to why the whole matter of the "anti-party group" was brought up at the Congress, Shelyepin said this was not because the group represented any danger today. "They present not even the shadow of any danger . . . they are political corpses, but it was necessary . . . to strengthen the belief of the Soviet people that the grave abuses which flourished in the period of the cult of the individual will never recur in the country, in our party . . ."

Sobell children appeal to world leaders

MORTON SOBELL'S children, Mark, 12 and Sydney, 21, have written an appeal to world leaders for their father's freedom from prison, to be presented at a demonstration before the United Nations buildings in New York from 5 to 6:30 p.m., Thursday, Nov. 16, organized by the Committee for Justice for Morton Sobell, 940 Broadway, N.Y. 10.

The appeal cites the support of world figures such as Bertrand Russell, Pablo Casals, Jean Paul Sartre, Martin Buber, Harold Urey, Linus Pauling and Martin Luther King, and expresses confidence that other world leaders will join them "when you have looked at this case and know that all our family was brutally kidnaped while we were on a vacation in Mexico, that our father was beaten on the head with a gun, that he was told to confess to a crime which he had not committed, and then sent to Alcatraz because he refused to testify untruthfully against the Rosenbergs."

Only one witness appeared against their father at his trial in 1951, the appeal said, "and he [Max Elitcher—Ed.] was an admitted perjurer."

The appeal asks intervention by the Human Rights Division of the UN.

ON SUNDAY, NOV. 26, between 2:30 and 5 p.m., persons from all over the Eastern seaboard will appeal at the White House for Sobell's release. Special buses will leave for Washington at 9 a.m. from 940 Broadway, New York City, returning to New York by 10:30 p.m. The round-trip is $10.

Bill of Rights dinner planned in N.Y. Dec. 15

CAREY McWILLIAMS, editor of The Nation, and I. F. Stone, editor of I. F. Stone's Weekly, will speak at a Bill of Rights dinner marking the 170th anniversary of the ratification of the Bill of Rights. The dinner will be in the Commodore Hotel on Dec. 15. Dr. Corliss Lamont will be chairman, and Judge Hubert T. Delany, toastmaster.

McWilliams will speak on "Liberty in a Warfare State" and Stone, on "The Bill of Rights Today." The dinner will be under auspices of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Reservations at $12.50 each may be made at the committee's office, 421 7th Ave., New York 1.

Kumar Goshal
A Report on Africa
CALGARY, Canada—Nov. 21. For further information call AL 5-0836.
REGINA, Canada, Nov. 23, details to be announced.
DETROIT—Sun., Nov. 26, Jewish Music Center, 14864 Schaefer H'way. 7:30 p.m.
Wed., Nov. 29, 7:30 p.m. Hartford Baptist Church Community Center, 6300 Hartford Ave.
PHILADELPHIA — Sat., Dec. 2. At the Blooms', 100 66th Ave. at 9 p.m.
WATCH THE GUARDIAN FOR OTHER DATES AND PLACES

'Strike first' plan

(Continued from Page 1)

Brothers reports in 1958 and numerous Rand Corp. studies have tended to support the Air Force theories.

Leading ideologist of the new strategy is physicist Herman Kahn, formerly of the Rand Corp. and now in business for himself. His theories were first expounded in Rand studies and developed in articles and lectures. They culminated in **On Thermonuclear War**, published last year by the Center of International Studies at Princeton, and now considered "required reading" in Washington.

FIRST STRIKE: Kahn writes off disarmament in the near future as utopian —the Russians would cheat, he says— and examines alternative strategies. He defines a desirable national posture as one with "enough capability to launch a first strike in the kind of tense situation that would result from an outrageous Soviet provocation, so as to induce uncertainty in the enemy as to whether it would not be safer to attack us directly rather than provoke us. The posture should have enough of a retaliatory capacity to make this direct attack unattractive."

The Balance of Terror theory and its various sub-theories he finds unsuitable. Kahn proposes a flexible military machine capable of meeting every sort of threat and of backing up our own threats. His system would have (1) a nuclear arsenal for first and second strikes; (2) limited war capabilities with non-nuclear weapons for ordinary and guerrilla wars; (3) an insurance factor to guarantee that the systems will work; and (4) preparations for the unforeseen.

Kahn argues that owning terror weapons in itself is not a deterrent unless it is accompanied by the guaranteed means to deliver them and the willingness to use them and the acceptance by the enemy that you are willing to use them. The nation's greatest peril, he says, is "blackmail" by the Russians. If the Russians are not convinced that we will use nuclear weapons first, if necessary, they will devour the West by inches.

Macpherson in the Toronto Daly Star

"Once upon a time, before fallout, when all humans looked alike . . ."

MUST BE WILLING: If the U.S. had only large nuclear weapons without means to fight conventional or limited wars, the Russians might force limited concessions, such as a part of Southeast Asia, U.S. bases in Spain or Quemoy and Matsu. In each case the President might decide that it was better to concede than to start a nuclear war.

But, Kahn says, even with a multi-deterrent capability, the U.S. could still be blackmailed if it were unwilling to fight a nuclear war because that would destroy mankind. Kahn proposed Credible First Strike as the solution. It requires that the U.S. have ability and willingness to strike the first blow and that the U.S. population as well as the Russians believe in that willingness. Thus, when "provoked" by the Russians as in Berlin, the U.S. could flex its muscles and force the Russians to back down.

Credibility is basic to the policy. Dr. Gordon S. Christiansen of Connecticut College pointed out in the October issue of the Committee of Correspondence Newsletter that "the primary way in which credibility is created, the way we make the enemy believe implicitly that we will in fact use nuclear weapons if provoked (first strike) or if attacked (second strike), is to believe it absolutely and without question ourselves."

The way to make it credible to ourselves is through a vast system of fallout shelters. If the nation can survive a retaliatory strike, or even if it thinks it can survive, the policy is made operable. It is not so important that the Russians believe the U.S. has an effective shelter system as it is for them to believe that the U.S. population thinks it has, and will therefore sanction a first-strike adventure.

'SPARE' CITIES: Kahn put it: "The best that any Credible First Strike Capability can do is to make it rational . . . for the U.S. to go to war as an alternative to tolerating extreme provocations . . . It should be **credible** that we will go to war if the President and the enemy both see plainly that going to war is rational. One can almost hear the President saying to his advisors, 'How can I go to war—almost all American cities will be destroyed?' And the answer ought to be, in essence, 'That's not entirely fatal, we've built some spares.' "

Kahn's "spare cities" are part of an underground network to which he would send the population. Kahn's civil defense studies for Rand, he says, indicate that the nation could "survive" an attack. Depending on the size of attack and the extent of civil defense preparations, the nation might suffer 50 million casualties. But this, he reasons, is better than 100 million.

Kahn insists that fallout and contamination dangers have been exaggerated. Genetic damage, he points out, would be "spread out" through "20 or 30 or 40 generations." He adds: "But even this is a long way from annihilation. It might well turn out, for example, that U.S. decision makers would be willing, among other things, to accept the high risk of an additional one per cent of our children being born deformed if that meant not giving up Europe to Soviet Russia."

HOLES IN THEORY: Counterforce or Credible First Strike requires a vast shelter program, intensive post-attack preparations and training of CD personnel, which will eventually delude the public into accepting the possibility of survival. But since the programs will take some time to effect and the posture depends on "credibility," the family fallout shelter campaign has been launched to convince the public that somehow and someday it will be **safe.**

The Counterforce theory (greatly simplified here) is full of holes. For each U.S. military threat, the Russians can pose a counter. To answer U.S. shelters the Russians can build shelters of their own and/or bigger bombs to make our deepest holes unsafe. Eventually it will lead to "bigger and better" weapons. Even Kahn does not believe the arms race can spiral indefinitely without catastrophe.

The cost of Counterforce will be enormous—Kahn says we can spend as much as 50% of the Gross National Product without hurting the economy. But in the process the U. S. will increasingly resemble a garrison state. As the military rises in importance, hopes for disarmament decline proportionately.

CHESS GAME: While Kahn sees clearly the dynamics of armaments, he sees no change in world political relationships. He pays no mind to the influence of neutral nations or even NATO powers on U.S. or Soviet policy. The arms race for him is a chess game between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. But what if China, Sweden, Israel and others develop nuclear weapons? War and peace decisions will be in too many hands to predict all the moves.

Kahn also assumes that the Russians will "play the game" by his rules. To prevent accidental war he proposed a direct line from the White House to the Kremlin. If a nuclear missile were launched by mistake, one side could say to the other, "Sorry, this isn't it."

But if such a high state of trust could be attained in a near-war situation, why then could not the powers trust one another in disarmament negotiations? Clearly, if the money and effort put to Counterforce studies were spent on disarmament a better case could be made for peace.

IT'S LOGICAL: Kahn has been denounced as a "monster" and as "inhuman." One reviewer said Kahn's book made him ashamed to be an American. Another called it "a moral tract on mass murder."

But the point will have been missed if people turn in horror from Kahn's theories without understanding that Counterforce is the logic of the arms race. Those who are shocked by Kahn but accommodate themselves to continued crisis and arms buildup are kin to the proverbial woman who was "only a little bit pregnant."

The arms race cannot stand still; its dynamics lead it upward. And as it accelerates the war danger grows closer. The Little Bit Pregnants would like to play the game until the stakes get too high. But the sky's the limit in the arms game and he who hasn't the stomach had best spend his time calling off the game.

Many peace-minded people who reject Counterforce nevertheless are willing to accept fallout shelters. A rational position they argue, is to demand Federally financed community shelters. But if they accept shelters, they must also accept responsibility for furthering the deception that shelters can protect and for encouraging Counterforce advocates to lead the world to the brink. A statement by 183 New England scientists printed as an ad in the New York **Times** Nov. 10 pointed out:

"By buying a shelter program which does not shelter, and thereby believing that we can survive a thermonuclear war, we are increasing the probability of war. This probability increases both because we may be more willing to 'go to the brink' if we think survival is possible and because we are less likely to devise and take any of the constructive steps which may ease tension and secure peace."

A delegation from U.S. visits Siqueiros in Mexico

JAILED ARTIST TALKS TO COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Left to right: Robert Gwathmey, David Alfaro Siqueiros (behind grill), Stanley Faulkner, Corliss Lamont, Prof. Horacio Quinones of Mexico City.

FROM NOV. 8 TO 10 a special committee of inquiry from the U.S. went to Mexico City to investigate the imprisonment of David Alfaro Siqueros, Mexico's greatest living painter. It was composed of Robert Gwathmey, painter; Stanley Faulkner, attorney, and Corliss Lamont, author and teacher, and represented the U.S. Friends of Mexico and a large group of artists and others in the U.S. interested in the Siqueiros case. On Nov. 9 they interviewed Siqueiros in prison, the first foreigners, except for a newspaperman, to get permission. They were not able to discuss the matter with any government officials. In a statement they appealed to the government and to President Lopez Mateos to release Siquerois from his 15-month imprisonment and to dismiss the legal proceeding against him. They saw two murals recently started by the artist—one of them commissioned by the government itself at Chapultepec Castle—which stand uncompleted. On their return to New York they wired an urgent appeal to Prime Minister Nehru of India to intercede in the case during his visit to Mexico.

A stand for survival

Robert Potter, professor of sociology at Flint College, writing in the Committee of Correspondence Newsletter *for October, 1961, declared:*

MY WIFE . . . as regards response to the terror . . . is, I think, getting more out of life than ever—particularly the children (with respect to whom she has remarked that she no longer thinks of having grandchildren)—and is committed to teaching them to enjoy their brief lives as fully as possible so that in the end they will feel as little cheated as possible.

Now that I hear my best friends and lovers seriously discussing euthanasia as an alternative to radiation sickness, I realize the depth to which thinking about the possibility of nuclear war has gone. My abhorrence of this solution makes me think, without careful consideration, that to destroy oneself or one's most loved ones as a response to nuclear war is a much more destructive thing than to destroy oneself in an effort to prevent it.

Shall we be lambs or foxes? To live fully today is the best possible way of describing the choice increasing numbers of us in luxurious America are taking. To describe the choice in this way is to open the door to the possibility that the flight element is not recognized. Living fully for today includes many chances for shrinking the boundaries of one's psychic field in a flight into immediacy and privacy. We cannot deny that such a shrinkage of concern for the society creates a political vacuum like that in the flock of lambs and directly increases the probability of the nuclear war. The more painful choice—to take the stand for survival and refuse to give a tacit vote for suicide —can also be described as living fully today.

NEW YORK

Guardian Theater Nights

Wednesday, January 10

An evening with Mort Sahl

Tuesday, February 13

Emil Gilels at Carnegie Hall

HOLD THE DATES!

RACE RESTRICTIONS REMAIN FOR MISSISSIPPI AND LOUISIANA TRAVELERS

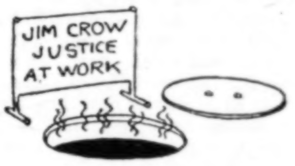
Parts of South defy desegregation order by ICC

By Joanne Grant

MISSISSIPPI and parts of Louisiana clung to the practice of segregated travel in violation of an Interstate Commerce Commission order to desegregate Southern bus and railroad terminal facilities on Nov. 1. Compliance was spotty elsewhere in the South.

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) reported full compliance Nov. 1 in the 60 localities it tested in Florida, Kentucky, North Carolina, Virginia and Texas and part compliance in Georgia and South Carolina. Of those conducting tests, four Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee members in Atlanta and three CORE members in Jackson, Miss., were arrested. The Jackson arrests brought the city's total to 315 since the Freedom Rides began last May.

COURT ORDER: In Alabama Federal Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. issued an order prohibiting Montgomery authorities from enforcing racial barriers as a result of a suit by six Freedom Riders. Gov. John Patterson said: "This suit is an insult to every citizen of Alabama. If they (Freedom Riders) continue to invade our state and continue to try to run over us, we want to serve notice that we are going to defend ourselves



and we are not going to take it lying down."

In Birmingham a bus station manager was arrested and released in $100 bond after he had served Negroes and whites.

Several Georgia cities have complied with the ICC regulation, but the state has filed a suit saying that the ruling violates the right of the state to regulate intrastate transportation.

Louisiana officials used various means to enforce segregation. In Crowley an integrated group was met by policemen armed with sawed-off shotguns and tear gas guns. The Chief of Police, Maxwell L. Barousse, said: "We were there for security reasons. We wanted to avoid an Alabama or Mississippi incident." State judges in Alexandria and Baton Rouge ordered signs designating "white" and "colored" waiting rooms put back in the Trailways terminal.

THREAT MADE: In Hollingsworth, La., the Trailways driver refused to allow Negro passengers to leave the bus, but he let the white passengers get off. In Krat Spring a policeman told Frank Nelson, a white CORE member: "I want one of those nigger boys to get off. I'm gonna do him in." At the Trailways station in Kinder the required ICC sign saying that there were no racial barriers was posted. A Shreveport bus station manager refused to remove an ICC sign, turned himself in to police, was arrested and released in $250 bond.

The U.S. Justice Dept. filed suit against Baton Rouge officials challenging laws requiring travel segregation. The department has also filed two suits in Mississippi. The first, filed Oct. 31, is against all county and district attorneys in the state as a group, the state itself and Joe T. Patterson, Mississippi attorney general. The suit arose out of a state court order restraining the Greyhound Corp. from removing segregation signs. A Federal District judge denied a Justice Dept. request for a temporary injunction to keep local officials from enforcing segregation laws. The suit is scheduled to be heard Nov. 20.

McCOMB SUIT: A new Justice Dept. suit was filed Nov. 2 against the city of McComb, Miss., Mayor C. H. Douglas and Police Chief George Guy. Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy said city officials posted new segregation signs reading: "Whites only, by order of Police Dept." the day after Greyhound removed racial signs from the McComb terminal.

In Jackson, Mayor Allen Thompson announced: "We're going to see that there's no violence from these agitators that come from outside even if we have to have five policemen for each one." Police posted signs on sidewalks outside terminals designating white and Negro facilities. The three CORE members arrested in Jackson were sentenced to four months and $200 fines and released on appeal bonds.

The **Washington Post** noted Nov. 7: "The impertinence of a few state officials who are trying to enforce segregation in interstate travel facilities in the face of the Interstate Commerce Commission order almost passes belief."

RIDER ACQUITTED: Some progress was noted even in Mississippi by CORE —an interracial group was served in a Greenville terminal and one Freedom Rider, Robert Jenkins, chairman of St. Louis CORE, was acquitted of a breach of the peace charge on a technicality. He had been arrested in June when he attempted to test Jackson airport facilities.

Two other victories in travel desegregation were the Oct. 16 announcement by three Southern railroads that they would remove racial signs in terminals and the elimination in part of segregation in restaurants along Rt. 40 in Maryland.

A CORE Freedom Ride on Rt. 40 in which 1,000 were expected to take part was canceled following the announcement that 35 of 75 Maryland restaurants along the route had agreed to desegregate by Nov. 22. CORE has set Dec. 15 as a deadline for the rest to desegregate. Several African diplomats have been refused service in Rt. 40 restaurants and there have been numerous arrests of demonstrators.

A TYPICAL STREET SCENE—IN JACKSON, MISS.
A cop, a snarling dog and the quarry—almost any Negro

The 'post-Christian era'

"THE TASK OF ALL CHRISTIANS is to work for the total abolition of war," says the Rev. Thomas Merton in the October issue of the **Catholic Worker.** His article, "The Root of War," adds: "Peace is to be preached, non-violence is to be explained as a practical method, and not left to be mocked as an outlet for crackpots who want to make a show of themselves."

Commenting on reports that people are prepared to sit in their bomb shelters "with machine guns with which to prevent their neighbor from entering," Father Merton says: "This is a nation that claims to be fighting for religious truth along with freedom and other values of the spirit. Truly we have entered the 'post-Christian era' with a vengeance. Whether we are destroyed or whether we survive the future is awful to contemplate."

A priest of the Order of Cistercians of the Strict Observance, Father Merton is the master of novices at Our Lady of Gethsemane Abbey. He is well known for his books, which include **The Seven Story Mountain, Seeds of Contemplation** and **No Man Is an Island.**

NEW YORK

The U.S. Committee for Cooperation with
The Japan Council Against A & H Bombs
cordially invites you to a

RECEPTION

honoring the delegates to the 7th Annual Conference of the Japan Council, held in Tokyo, August 6 to 14

Russ Nixon — Dr. Herbert Aptheker — Mrs. Blanche Katz
Dr. Corliss Lamont — Harry Pollack — Dr. Alexander Katz

who will present a REPORT FROM HIROSHIMA

Chairman: DR. WILLARD UPHAUS

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Refreshments — $2 per person — $8 per table
Write for tickets to: — *Telephone WAtkins 9-2543*
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APPEAL TO BE FILED

New-trial plea by Soblen denied

IT TOOK 90 MINUTES Nov. 3 for Federal Judge William B. Herlands to set forth his conclusions that there was no merit to the grounds on which a new trial has been asked for Robert A. Soblen, sentenced to life imprisonment by Herlands Aug. 7 on charges of conspiracy to commit espionage.

The motion for a new trial, argued between Oct. 9 and 19 before Herlands and reported in the GUARDIAN Oct. 30, charged that the government withheld the fact that its chief witness, Soblen's brother Jack Soble, had been found to be insane by government psychiatrists; and that it had concealed the fact that the story told by the other principal witness against Soblen, Mrs. Johanna Beker, had been repudiated to her face and before a federal grand jury by the man she said had given her information from the Office of Stragetic Services to give to Dr. Soblen. The former OSS employee, Dr. Hans Hirschfeld, is now a West German government official and associate of Mayor Willy Brandt of West Berlin. He denied ever having known Mrs. Beker.

Other bases for the new trial motion were statements by Prof. H. Stuart Hughes of Harvard, son of the late Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes; Prof. Herbert Marcuse of Brandeis, and Charlotte Stone, head of the OSS office which employed Hirschfeld, that the office had no access to secret information.

An appeal from Judge Herlands' denial of the new trial motion will accompany the appeal from Soblen's conviction to be filed late this month by attorney Ephraim London.

MILITARISTS MAY HAVE TROUBLE RULING

Rightists face a fight in independent Syria

By Tabitha Petran

LONDON

THE DISSOLUTION of the United Arab Republic probably ends the recent "stability" of the Arab Middle East, a stability achieved by suppression of every democratic movement. Restoration of Syria's independence could lead to a resumption of democratic political life—despite the present obstacles—in at least one Arab country.

All political parties and activities are now banned in the new Syrian Republic by demand of Gen. A. K. Zahreddine, chief of the Command Council but not a participant in the recent coup. Final decisions about political life will rest, according to the Cabinet, with the Constituent Assembly to be elected without benefit of political parties within four months. The present ban is admittedly aimed at the Communist Party, which was a leading force in the national front coalition which ruled Syria before establishment of the U.A.R. A determined effort to prolong the ban will be made by right-wing forces, already trying to establish a military dictatorship. But right-wing governments proved incapable of ruling before U.A.R. and will not find it easy to do so now. Loss of the free-for-all political life of 1954-58 was one of the most resented aspects of the union with Egypt.

WIDE SUPPORT: The surgery separating Syria from Egypt was effected by the Army. The operation's speed, the lack of bloodshed, and the support of all political elements show that the Army acted for the entire nation.

The most important characteristic of the government installed by the officers is that its members' hands are clean of the crimes of the Union. Conservative it certainly is; yet its first acts were to scrap the police and spy networks through which President Nasser's henchman, Col. Serraj, had terrorized the people; to repeal the emergency laws; restore some civil and trade union rights, and begin the release of political prisoners. More than 1,000 had been freed by mid-October.

ABDEL HAMID SERRAJ
Most hated man

Recent intensification of the terror was a major factor behind the coup and the cause of the quarrel between Nasser's pro-consul, Gen. Amer, and Col. Serraj, the most detested man in Syria. Amer, warning Nasser that Syria would be lost unless the terror were abated, tried to curb Serraj by prohibiting arrests without warrant. Nasser kicked Serraj upstairs, but the gesture came too late. The Union had alienated all classes.

BIG BUSINESS: After independence in 1946, Syria experienced a remarkable agricultural and industrial expansion which was powered by the savings and enterprise of merchant capitalists who, thereby, became big industrial and agricultural entrepreneurs. Based largely in Aleppo, these businessmen found their major market in Iraq and became the chief supporters of Syria-Iraq union. They opposed union with Egypt because they feared being swallowed up by Egypt's bigger capitalists, and because Egypt's state-directed economy was alien to their business practice.

Swept unwillingly into the U.A.R., this group consistently refused to be identified with its government and managed to stall full economic unification. Already hurt by the loss of the Iraq market, Egyptian dumping, etc., it received its most damaging blow last February when Egypt requisitioned all Syrian holdings abroad, nationalized credit institutions, and imposed tight exchange and import controls. These measures and the July nationalizations were aimed mainly at ruining this nationalist business class which stood in the way of Egypt's economic take-over and its efforts to make Syria its agricultural hinterland.

FEUDAL LANDLORDS: Although Syria's export and grain crops come mainly from newly developed land cultivated by mechanized methods, traditional feudal landlords still own large estates in older settled regions. These estate holders were frightened by the 1958 land reform decree, but in the end few lost their land. Egyptian police worked hand in glove with the landlords to control "subversive elements"—that is, peasants demanding their rights.

MIDDLE CLASS: The middle class, more substantial than in most Arab countries, was originally among the Union's most enthusiastic supporters, backing the social democratic Baath Party which engineered the Union. Now it is in large part disillusioned by economic ruin.

The working class is small, but before the Union had the right to strike and to organize independent trade unions. Leadership of several unions passed to the Communists in 1957-58. After Union, Nasser used the Baath, to which he gave the key government posts, to destroy labor's independence and oust its elected leadership. Rank-and-file resistance to abuses continued despite arrests and interference by spy services in union affairs.

Last July's "socialist" decrees promising workers participation in factory ownership and a share in profits may have impressed some. But most were more concerned about wages, since real wages have fallen in the inflation which followed Union, and U.A.R. Labor Minister Shafei had announced July 13 that nationalizations did not mean wage increases. The workers also were upset by the loss of their annual bonuses, roughly one-fourth the annual wage, and by the working conditions under nationalization. Recently workers in nationalized factories were forbidden to gather in groups of more than three or to talk to each other.

A SOLDIER STANDS GUARD IN QUIET DAMASCUS
There was no violence in the army take-over

THE PEASANTS: Three years of drought, coupled with the corruption and inefficiency brought by the Egyptians to the administration of an agricultural system wholly different from their own, had reduced the countryside to near starvation. Failure to supply seeds and credit; arbitrary decrees such as one requiring the killing of goats; brutal suppression — these are, for the peasants, the realities behind "socialist" promises.

POLITICAL PARTIES: The success of the Communist Party's national front policy before Union made Syria the democratic vanguard of the Arab liberation movement and gave the party wide influence. An informal coalition between the CP and a nationalist businessmen's bloc headed by one of the richest, Khalid El Azm, was headed toward victory in the 1957-58 municipal elections when the Baath, which had split from the united front, managed with Nasser's help to precipitate Union instead of the federation upon which the Parliament had agreed.

The Baath's two-year rule for Nasser earned it popular contempt. Its later break with Nasser split the party several ways. A left wing is prepared to work with the communists and other progressives. The CP, which had consistently warned of the dangers of Union, suffered heavy losses as the chief target of Egyptian-Serraj repression. By early 1960, however, an underground communist-led opposition was calling for a national front. In January, 1961, Beirut newspapers reported contacts were being made among all Syrian political parties to try to reach agreement on a minimum program to revise but not end Union. The parties mentioned were the CP, the Baath, the People's (Aleppo big business), the National (big and middle businessmen and professional people), the P.P.S. (fascist), and non-party politicians. Among the non-party people the man to watch is El Azm who negotiated the 1957 Soviet-Syrian aid agreement. There is no evidence to suggest the army coup was a direct product of these contacts.

Today Syria's economy is devastated by drought and Egyptian mismanagement and rapacity. Syria's independence and economic recovery can be assured only by allowing the energies of its politically conscious people democratic expression. Internal reaction alone could not prevent this but, as in 1957-58, outside reactionary forces will also be brought to bear. The way will undoubtedly be difficult but a first and necessary step has been taken.

That duffer Foster!

HE OCCASIONALLY let his temper get the best of him, and this may have caused his heart attack in September, 1955. His temper got "completely out of control" as the result of a series of phone calls from the State Department while he was trying to play golf.

—"Eisenhower on the Presidency," TV show as reported in the Chicago **Sun-Times**, Oct. 13.

PAULING PETITION SIGNED BY 24,397

3,000 women rally at UN against tests

ARTHUR H. DEAN, chief U.S. negotiator at the defunct Geneva test-ban talks, could not come to agreement either with almost 3,000 women demonstrating against nuclear tests at the UN Nov. 8. Dean, U.S. delegate to the UN General Assembly, told the women that a test ban "was up to the Russians."

To the women's expression of concern about strontium 90, he answered: "We face one of the most ruthless despotisms any civilization has faced . . ." He declared that unilateral disarmament [which the women did not advocate] would lead to communism in America.

A woman standing near the platform called out: "Since we were the first to use the bomb, we ought to be the first to lead the world toward disarmament." She held up an enlarged photograph of Hiroshima bombing victims.

Dean answered: "Are you people aware that the Russians today jailed a Jewish leader and they are jailing Jewish leaders every day?" He left the platform amid shouts of "Shame, shame" and "Anti-Semite."

The demonstration grew out of the Nov. 1 Women's Strike for Peace, when about 200 women met with an assistant to UN Ambassador Adlai Stevenson. In answer to their protests, he insisted he was not a policy-maker. The women arranged to return in a week to meet with a person in higher authority.

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On Nov. 9 Dr. and Mrs. Linus Pauling turned over to the UN 24,397 additional signatures to their petition to Stop the Spread of Nuclear Weapons. The petition urged (1) nuclear powers not to transfer nuclear arms to other nations or groups of nations; (2) non-nuclear countries to refrain from obtaining or developing such weapons; and (3) the UN to increase its efforts to achieve total disarmament with a system of inspection and controls.

The Paulings wrote the petition last January and presented it Feb. 16 with the signatures of 720 persons, including 40 Nobel Laureates. Last April they turned over 33,000 additional signatures from 51 countries. In addition, tens of thousands of signatures have been sent to the UN from Canada, Turkey, West Germany, Japan and other countries.

Belsky in the London Daily Herald
"Sure I think President Kennedy's peace race is a swell idea—so long as they don't use an atomic starting pistol."

A. J. MUSTE FINDS THE SOVIET CASE ON BERLIN PLAUSIBLE

Peace leader challenges the official U. S. view

By A. J. Muste

In the continuing discussion on the world crisis and the resumption of nuclear bomb testing by the Soviet Union, we present below excerpts from a new pamphlet by A. J. Muste entitled "A Time to Weep?", reprinted by the War Resisters League (Room 825, 5 Beekman St., New York 38, N.Y., 10c), from Liberation *magazine, 110 Christopher St., N.Y. 14.*

THE PEACE WALKERS AT MINSK: SWARMS OF CHILDREN GREET THEM
The flowers can't erase the fatigue of the day's 40-mile journey

I AM WORRIED about the international situation, more so than at any time since World War II. All through the early and middle part of the summer, when my activity (mostly having to do with the San Francisco-to-Moscow Peace March) centered around London, Paris, Bonn, Berlin, Warsaw, Moscow—even when I was in Berlin in the very midst of the crisis, in August, shuttling back and forth between West and East Berlin several times a day—I felt that somehow things would not really get out of hand, at any rate not this year.

Now I am just back from another two weeks in Europe, in the course of which I again visited Moscow, Warsaw and London and conferred with the Peace Team in a small town near the Polish-Soviet border. I am badly shaken. I am no longer confident that the situation can be controlled. Mr. K. and Mr. K. are now engaged in an exercise in brinkmanship much more stupendous on a terrain much more unsteady than John Foster Dulles ever had in his years of "Christian" statesmanship and power.

Practically nobody talks any more about the abstract possibility of nuclear war "in our time." Now the discussions all have to do with the concrete possibility or probability of nuclear war today or the day after tomorrow. On both the Soviet and the American sides preliminary moves of mobilization for a war in which, if it takes place, nuclear weapons will be used, are actually going on. This represents a tremendous psychological shift.

THE NEW TESTS: Let us begin a quick survey of the situation with the resumption of tests by Moscow's Mr. K. This is only because we have to take hold somewhere and it is a dramatic development, not because it is a brand-new "cause"

which has been injected and is "responsible" in any decisive way for the "effects" we are witnessing. No other nation can ever pioneer in this field as the United States did at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and if Americans will think hard about how they have been shocked and outraged by Khrushchev's wicked act, they will begin to understand how shocked and outraged most of the world was and still is by the crime perpetrated at Hiroshima. I do not think impartial students would regard the comments Harry Truman made about his historic decision as any less callous than some of Khrushchev's remarks in justification of his decision. Khrushchev has convicted himself in advance, for only a short time ago he said that any resumption of nuclear tests would be a criminal act.

Why, then, did he do it? The rearmament of West Germany as a part of NATO, the U.S.-European military complex, is a crucial factor. At present, instruments for the delivery of nuclear weapons are in the hands of the German Army; German soldiers are being trained in their use; the U.S. controls the nuclear warheads but they are there in Germany to be used in case of war. West Germany is already the chief economic and military power on the continent. It will dominate a West European federation if such a federation comes into being. Now suppose Canada were being armed by a coalition of which the U.S. was not a part, armed rapidly and with nuclear capability, would we not regard the situation as dangerous and provocative? But suppose, in addition, that we had fought two wars with Canada, in which we had achieved victory only after Canadian troops under a Kaiser and a dictator had devastated vast areas of our country, laid cities waste, killed tens of millions of civilians and soldiers. Unless they really grasp how they would feel about the rearmament of such a power Americans can have no idea what West German rearmament and revival as a power state means to Poles and Russians.

RATIONAL FEAR: It is, moreover, highly probable that Khrushchev and other Russian strategists figure that if the German buildup continues for a few more years and Germany continues to have American backing, or even if it does not, a German state will again direct its military might eastward. There is surely nothing irrational about such a fear.

Basic to Soviet policy is the thesis that German rearmament must not go any further and must soon somehow be drastically reduced. Corollary to this is the proposition that the Central European situation must be stabilized on the basis of the status quo. Specifically, the existence of East Germany must be accepted as a fact, whether or not the U.S. formally recognizes that state, and the present Soviet-Polish, Soviet-German and Polish-East German (Oder-Neisse line) boundaries, which were provisionally fixed by the big powers toward the end of World War II, must be accepted as final and internationally guaranteed.

There is certainly nothing extreme about these proposals. They seem on the face of them natural and inevitable. And in fact there are many indications that President Kennedy is now prepared to accept the ones relating to boundaries, as are Adenauer and others who may determine policy in West Germany. To a great extent Khrushchev's behavior in precipitating the Berlin crisis and resuming tests can be explained—which is not synonymous with "justified"—by the fact that until recently neither the U.S. nor West Germany was prepared to accept the "two Germanys." It is highly doubtful that they are ready now to call a halt to further expansion of the West German military establishment, let alone cut down on it or agree to a Central European de-nuclearized and eventually demilitarized zone. This is what the Russian mean when they accuse the U.S. of not being willing to "negotiate."

CUBA EXAMPLE: Here again the Russian case is plausible and, in terms of customary relations between nations, valid. As Erich Fromm pointed out in his extended analysis of the background of these matters in the September issue of **Liberation,** Khrushchev for a considerable period, especially after the Camp David conference with Eisenhower, was convinced that the German problem could be "negotiated" and the threat of nuclear war thus terminated, and largely staked his reputation and standing in the Communist world on that assumption. Eisenhower for some reason reverted to the peace-through-strength and conventional Republican anti-Communist line. Then came the U-2 incident.

There was hope that the Kennedy administration would take a new turn. I think it is trying to, in some measure. But it went in for raising the military budget. The Cuban debacle presented the picture of an administration which did not know its own mind and did not have the situation under control. Unquestionably it aroused in the minds of Russian strategists the question: Unless these people are rudely brought to their senses, what will they do if an incident, precipitated by the West German government, occurs in the middle of Europe?

Meanwhile Russian strategists are at least as well informed as we are about the pressure brought on Kennedy to be "tough" by elements in the Pentagon, the nuclear scientists' circle, the Republican Party, American self-righteousness, and the visceral American reaction to being "pushed around." They see West German rearmament going on every day, German soldiers, under generals who were all in Hitler's armies, trained in France and England . . . So the official Soviet statement on resumption of tests could say: "In order to discourage the aggressor from criminal playing with fire, it is necessary to make sure that he knows and sees that there is a force in the world which is ready to give armed rebuff to any encroachment on independence and security of peace-loving states, and that the weapon of retribution will reach the aggressor in his den."

SOVIET PRESSURE: Khrushchev is subject to grave pressures, not only from the Chinese Communist Party but from military and other elements in Russia which demand a tough line, just as much as Kennedy is here, and . . . this should be considered in trying to understand otherwise incomprehensible moves . . . There is now . . . in both nations a runaway military technology. Weapons research goes right on, even when tests are suspended. But a point is always reached, when a new technological advance is made or desperately needed, where the tests have to be made. If you have this vast build-up and conform to its logic, you have to succumb to the terrific dynamism of the instrumentality which you have adopted, but which is now driving you. The military leaders bluntly declare that they must be permitted to take—or accept—the next step or betray their trust, which is to see that the nation is as completely armed as possible.

I have purposely presented the Soviet case in the Berlin crisis, if only because it is terribly important that Americans should know what it really is, or at least what the Soviets claim it is. It is a very plausible case and the fact is that those intellectual and progressive persons who are neither attached to the Kennedy entourage nor intransigent anti-Communists are pretty generally coming to the position that the United States will have to accept, and should accept, a settlement much along the Khrushchev line: recognition of the fact of two Germanies; finalization of the postwar borders, including the Oder-Neisse line, slowing down—at the very least—West German rearmament, and de-nuclearization of West Germany. In return there would be firm guarantees of the independence of West Berlin and freedom of access to it and de-nuclearization and eventual demilitarization of Poland and Czechoslovakia as well as East and West Germany.

Syria in ferment

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Paris in the Fall

PARIS

A HURRICANE of police terror swept them here, into the collective solitude of a municipal hospital ward, where man is reduced to a single expression of physiological misery. None had really been taken by surprise in the storm, any more than a Jew in Eastern Europe, before World War I, could have been surprised by a pogrom. But some had tried to dodge it. Not every one is of the stuff of which heroes or martyrs are made. And a long accumulation of humiliation and defeat can lead to a prudent wisdom called resignation.

In the long hospital room, Mohammed Y., 43, wipes the perspiration—mark of extreme exhaustion—from his forehead. He is short, dark-haired, white in his face, and from time to time he groans with pain. Then he falls back into a state of semi-consciousness. The night of Oct. 17, he returned home from work as usual, only just a little later than usual. It was a few minutes past the curfew hour recently decreed for Algerians in Paris, who no longer have the right to be outdoors at night. A cop pulled him off the street and beat him unconscious.

Ali R., 52, was in a Moslem pub drinking a cup of coffee in the late afternoon of Oct. 17. He was taken to a police station, and there his arm was twisted until his wrist broke. In a low, numbed voice, he wonders whether he can get his City of Paris job back.

Youssouf B., 36, was in the front lines of one of the Oct. 17 demonstrations. He has several bullet wounds. He talks little, wants nothing for himself, refuses a package of clothing a French visitor has put down on his bed. He hardly dares to show his fever of impatience for news from the outside world. His face lights up at such words as "solidarity strikes," "student demonstration," etc.

Amane C., 29, curly-haired and olive-skinned, was in a demonstration on the Left Bank on Oct. 17. Police knocked out 14 of his teeth and broke his cheek bone. He asks no questions. The word Algeria alone puts a glow in his eyes.

THEY ARE SOLDIERS in a war about which all do not have the same understanding, conception or even determination. But the longer it lasts, the more even those who are least anxious to fight will be convinced it is a just war, and it is theirs.

The mid-October demonstrations in the streets of Paris were a lesson these men will not soon forget. It was a hard lesson in many ways. It was hard for the Algerians, advancing bare-handed in the Paris streets, to see some bystanders side with the police. In one Paris hospital, a few days later, the director went out of his way to turn all wounded Algerians ready for dismissal straight back into the hands of the police. The tales of police brutalities, even against "North African-type" passersby, are countless. One Moroccan who was quietly walking along was halted in the street by a cop who said to him: "You know how to swim, don't you?" and threw him into the Seine.

One week after the demonstrations the bodies of six Algerians had been fished out of the river. There are official figures. Unofficially, many more Algerians were said to have been drowned in Paris alone. The total number of dead from the demonstrations still remains unpublished.

BUT THERE HAVE been other aspects to this first Algerian mass demonstration in Paris. Those hospitalized are receiving frequent visits and food parcels from unknown French friends. Algerian kids temporarily deprived of their parents have been taken into French homes. In at least three hospitals, the directors have locked the doors to police arriving to question Algerians. In the insane asylum, where the police parked some of them, the medical staff declared that institution unfit for patients such as these, and set the men free as soon as the police left.

As protest messages keep pouring in from political, trade union, teacher and university groups, these small gestures of solidarity may be remembered longest by the victims of the tragic and revolting events.

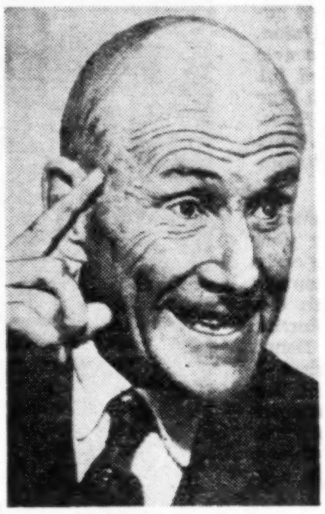
—Anne Bauer

BOOKS

Social thought in the U. S.

ONE OF THE MORE penetrating American historians is Ray Ginger of Brandeis University. His works so far have concentrated on the era of the appearance of American imperialism—**The Bending Cross,** a biography of Debs; an account of the Scopes ("monkey") trial in Tennessee, and **Altgeld's America,** a stimulating examination of ideas and movements in the Mid-West from 1892 to 1905.

His latest volume, **American Social Thought***, is a collection of essays by 12 American thinkers who were productive in the same generation with which Ginger hitherto has dealt One is a woman, Jane Addams; the others are William James, John Dewey, Thorstein Veblen, Charles S. Peirce, Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr., John R. Commons, Frederick Jackson Turner, Charles H. Cooley, Edward A. Ross, Eugene V. Debs and Samuel Gompers. One could, of course, produce a significant anthology illuminating American social thought in the generation preceding World War I by selecting other figures—Louis Brandeis, Henry D. Lloyd, for example—but within the space limits Ginger set himself, the selection he has made is probably as good as any other, with one serious omission. It will not do to pretend accurately to mirror any aspect of American thinking or American life for any period—let alone that from about 1890 to about 1917—when no mention at all and no representation whatsoever appear of the Negro people. The choices here are wide; my own preference would be some selection from Du Bois' classical **Souls of Black Folk** (first published in 1903).



EUGENE V. DEBS
'A fearful radical'

WITH THIS major exception, I think Ginger has succeeded in what he set out to do: to offer a representative array of influential thinking produced in the United States on significant questions. He is correct in stating that this makes exciting reading. Of the eight contributors whose lives were devoted essentially to university teaching, it is of more than passing importance that three of them—Veblen, Ross, and Peirce—did not have what are called "successful careers," for their promotions came very slowly, if at all, and they were shunted from one campus to another as thoroughly unorthodox and rather dubious characters. Two of the remaining four were, in their day, fearful radicals, of course—Addams and Debs—and one of these—Debs—was a condemned criminal and "damned traitor."

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*AMERICAN SOCIAL THOUGHT, *edited by Ray Ginger (American Century Series), Hill & Wang, 141 Fifth Ave., N.Y., 203 pp., $1.65 (paper); $4 (cloth).*

Music school to hold benefit art show in N.Y.

THE METROPOLITAN Music School, 18 W. 74th St., New York City, will open its second annual Thanksgiving art show for the benefit of its scholarship fund with a preview Wednesday, Nov. 22, at 8 p.m. The exhibition will be open to visitors Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays, Nov. 24, 25, 26, Dec. 1, 2, and 3 from 3 to 9 p.m. and Nov. 27-30 by appointment.

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BONTEMPS' STUDIES

The fight for Negro freedom

THE TITLE of Arna Bontemps' latest book, **100 Years of Negro Freedom,'** is somewhat deceptive. It is not so much a history as a series of biographical sketches apparently aimed at young people, in which various Negro leaders since Emancipation are portrayed participating in the long struggle for civil and human rights.

The major part of the book is devoted to the key figures of Negro life from the Civil War, through Reconstruction, up to and a little beyond the turn of the century. A considerably shorter section describes the role of men such as Walter White, A. Philip Randolph, Thurgood Marshall, Adam Clayton Powell Jr., and Martin Luther King in more recent times.

Bontemps is most successful in conveying the stature of Frederick Douglass and the sense of his being, in courage and political sagacity, a true hero and molder of American history. He deals at some length with the important controversy between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois on the relative merits of technical training and political organization as a means toward attaining full liberation for the Negro people. A significant Reconstruction figure is P. B. S. Pinchbeck, once acting Governor of Louisiana and later Senator-elect from that state (he was cheated of his seat, being double-crossed by members of his own, the Republican, party). Bontemps uses Pinchbeck to dramatize the betrayal of the Negro people and the setting of the pattern of segregation.

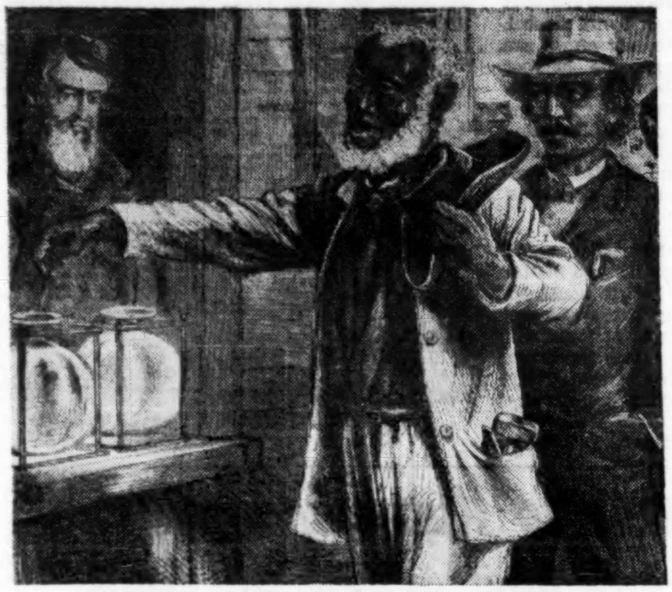
ONE WISHES at times that the linking of personal detail and historical context were firmer than it is in Bontemps' somewhat anecdotal narrative. In his effort to emphasize the human traits of his subjects, he pays too much attention to inconsequential matters that do not alter events. The book might have profited by more conscientious editing so that, for example, when mention is made of certain individuals, one would not have to wait ten pages or so for them to be identified.

Nevertheless, Bontemps is sharply conscious of the need to teach young people the facts of a struggle whose continuity is sometimes overlooked. Referring to the Negro students in the ordeal at Little Rock High School, he writes: "To the one-hundred-year struggle for Negro freedom had been added a sort of children's crusade. Where it would lead and what it would bring in the second century could only be imagined, but its leaders and its marchers were already involved, already being conditioned.

"Frederick Douglass would have liked this."

—John A. Williams

**100 YEARS OF NEGRO FREEDOM, by Arna Bontemps. Dodd, Mead & Co., N.Y. 276 pp. $3.50.*



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U. S. MILITARY JUGGERNAUT EXAMINED

A warfare state

FRED J. COOK, crack journalist who wrote **The Nation's** special issues on the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, gambling, and the Hiss case, has now done another brilliant job in "Juggernaut: The Warfare State" (**The Nation**, special issue of Oct. 28, 1961)*.

Cook takes his cue from an unexpected source, Dwight D. Eisenhower's farewell address to the American people last January, when the retiring President stated: "This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large armaments industry, is new in the American experience. The total influence—economic, political, even spiritual—is felt in every city, every state house, every office of the Federal Government . . . We must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex."

Following the President's lead, Cook traces the growing economic, political and propaganda power of "the military-industrial octopus" throughout many different sectors of American life. He points out that the U.S. Defense Department owns 32 million acres of land in the U.S. and 2.6 million abroad; that it employs 3,500,000 persons; and that its annual payroll is $11 billion (more than twice that of the automobile industry).

"In addition, an estimated 4 million persons are employed directly in defense industries. This means that a total of some 7.5 million Americans depend for their jobs directly on the Military—almost precisely one-tenth of the nation's entire labor force . . . In Los Angeles, it has been estimated that fully half the jobs are dependent, either directly or indirectly, on the continuance of the arms race—and arms spending. Under such circumstances every food store, every gas station feels it has a stake in keeping the war plants going. Under such circumstances, any cutback, even any threat of cutback, elicits screams of protest from workers who have jobs at stake, from a wide variety of business that have profits at stake, from politicians who have votes at stake."

THESE CONSIDERATIONS, together with the fact that the Federal Government is spending more than $50 billion a year for current military purposes, show how closely geared is the American economy to vast armaments expenditures and to the Cold War, periodically, as now, threatening to become a shooting war. A Republican or Democratic administration, fearful of increased unemployment on a national scale, and faced with widespread corporate opposition to reduced profits resulting from reduced military spending, is not likely to be enthusiastic over greatly reduced armaments budgets. This is one powerful reason why the American government year after year has dragged its feet at disarmament conferences, especially since it has had no rational plans in view for conversion to a peace economy.

Naturally the military-industrial Juggernaut, in order to obtain political and popular support, must maintain in the country a psychology of tension. Thus for Cook "the double-edged propaganda of the postwar era becomes self-evident. One purpose, as General MacArthur said, is to keep us 'in a perpetual state of fear . . . a continuous stamede of patriotic fervor, so that we shall support without question a munitions budget of ever-expanding billions. At the same time the other edge of the propaganda sword brands with the label of 'radicalism' any proposal that might conceivably siphon off some of those munitions billions—and possibly interfere with the prerequisities of industry—to benefit the people." The Warfare State has no use for the Welfare State.

ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT sections in Cook's tract is that in which he tells how the military has lined up with the radical right in fostering a fanatical anti-communist hysteria; in advancing the doctrine that communism can and must be destroyed in the practically inevitable war with Soviet Russia; and in organizing witch-hunts against civil liberties. The author gives a step-by-step account of how the military, after Gen. Leslie R. Groves had indiscreetly released publicly the **Smyth Report** with its detailed description of how the A-bomb was developed, attempted to cover up for this major blunder by encouraging Congressional investigating committees and government officials to embark "upon spy hunts unparalleled in our history, whipping up in the country an emotional frenzy in which the word of every perjurer, if he testified about an alleged spy, was accepted as gilt-edged truth and virtually every man accused was convicted by the accusation."

There is no doubt in Cook's mind that the advancing Juggernaut which he describes has made enormous inroads on the proper functioning of representative government in the U.S. "The real issue is whether American democracy is to be preserved—whether the most crucial decisions are to be determined by a military-industrial partnership not elected by or responsible to the people, or whether they are to be made by the civilian representatives elected for that purpose."

REGARDING the most crucial decision of all—that of declaring and making war, the author is clear that Congress, which alone under our Constitution has the power, has become "a figurehead body." For "we recognize, in the missile age in which obliteration from launching bases on the other side of the world is only 30 minutes away, that there is no time for Congress to meet, to debate, to declare war. There is time only to react." Even the President does not have time. And that leaves the fateful decision in the hands of the trigger-happy military, to perhaps some "division commander—with the rank of brigadier or major general and not necessarily even an American."

This special 61-page issue of **The Nation** should be read by every American who is interested in preserving democracy in this country and saving the U.S. from annihilation in a horrible nuclear war. In my judgment it is an important as any full-length book published in the last five years.

—Corliss Lamont

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Cuba invasion fear

(Continued from Page 1)

omitted from or buried in U.S. newspapers which had headlined the documents as genuine.

The documents bore "signatures" of Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister Carlos Olivares which Argentine experts recognized as fakes. Commenting on the episode here, Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa recalled how Peru's rupture of relations with Cuba was preceded by the "discovery" of similar forgeries in the Cuban embassy in Lima. Roa said it was a continuing pattern and he expected more forged "subversive instructions from Havana" to turn up in other countries. Frank Diaz Silveira, U.S. State Dept. agent who flies to and from Latin American capitals from Miami, was involved in both the Peruvian and the Argentine forgeries, Roa charged.

TRAINING BASES: Meanwhile the military buildup continues, and the Cuban government is well informed about it. According to Cuban sources, a 600-man force of mercenaries—mostly Cuban, but of various nationalities—has been "recruited" into Guatemala's army and is being trained on **fincas** owned by the family of President Ydigoras. Batista war criminal Eleuterio Pedraza reportedly shuttles back and forth from the U.S. with State Dept. instructions for these and similar training camps in Nicaragua and El Salvador. The Nicaraguan port, Puerto Cabezas, is now reported closed off because of the mobilization there of Cuban invasion forces.

Experts from the U.S. are believed training hundreds of parachutists in guerrilla warfare in Panama and at the camp and naval base near Constanza, Dominican Republic. Informants say that at landing fields around Santa Isabel, in southern Puerto Rico, air crews are practicing with transport and bomber planes bearing fake Cuban air force insignia. "Spectacular" movements of arms and troops are reported at the U.S. Guantanamo base, with constant huddles of the "Central American Unified Command" in the U.S. puppet countries across the Caribbean.

Many Cubans feel that the signs point to a second invasion after the end of the present UN Assembly, when it would be easier to delay action by the world organization. While it would undoubtedly be on a bigger scale than last time, the Cubans are militarily stronger now. They remain confident of routing the strongest attack which, in light of the world situation, the U.S. would dare to mount.

IN GUATEMALA, DIE-HARD ANTI-CASTROITES TRAIN AGAIN
Behind the armored car gun is Guatemalan President Ydigoras

Big protest to Kennedy urged to balk any new attack on Cuba

THE NEW YORK Fair Play for Cuba Committee has issued a warning of the danger of nuclear war if Americans do not make an immediate and strong public protest to force the Kennedy Administration to halt reported plans for a second invasion of Cuba by forces under U.S. sponsorship.

Returning to New York after a Cleveland meeting of the FPCC National Advisory Council, Acting Exec. Sec. Richard Gibson declared the Cuba situation was as dangerous to peace as the conflicts in Berlin and South Vietnam. He cited a statement by the FPCC council warning that the U.S. was preparing a much larger invasion than that of last April, in conjunction with the dictatorships of Guatemala, Nicaragua and El Salvador, and which the Pentagon hoped would be endorsed by the Organization of American States. This "could only lead to a more humiliating defeat," the statement said, "but would almost certainly bring Russian rockets raining down on American cities, and thus start World War III."

The council continued: "The Cuban government has submitted to the UN a detailed and well documented complaint (a letter from Foreign Minister Raul Roa to the president of the General Assembly) about new U.S. preparations for an attack on Cuba. Counterrevolutionaries are being trained at dozens of bases in this country and through the Caribbean. But there is a difference: this time it is not only going to be an army of mercenaries that will invade Cuba. This time it will be an openly declared war by the dictatorships of Guatemala, Nicaragua and El Salvador. The military might of the U.S. stands ready to support such a collective aggression, which, to the Pentagon hopes, will then be endorsed by the Organization of American States."

The statement pointed out that Secretary of State Dean Rusk had commented in Washington recently that he was pleased to see a new attitude on the part of Latin American governments toward Cuba, based on "a new awareness of the threat that Cuba holds to the security of this hemisphere."

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CALL to progressive-minded America, ANNOUNCING the holding of a CONFERENCE preliminary to the FOUNDING CONVENTION of a New, American LABOR-NEGRO VANGUARD PARTY

THE progressive forces of America now face both their MOST SERIOUS CHALLENGE and their greatest opportunity. Such is the conclusion forced upon us by these developments of the past decade:

(A) There has been a drastic checking of the progress, both as to the aims as well as the accomplishments, of the labor movement in the last 12 years. The imperialistic monopolies, through their state machinery, have fastened the reactionary Taft-Hartley, McCarran-Walter, and Landrum-Griffin-Kennedy laws as a noose around the neck of labor. Big Business and its political representatives imposed these repressive measures because they recognized that the trade unions were the major force capable of resisting their program of world domination—inflation, rising prices, high taxes, greater exploitation and eventual improverishment of the masses.

(B) The Negro liberation movement continues to be the "Achilles Heel" of American imperialism. As a result of the conflict between the international bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the colonial independence movement and the socialist camp, on the other, the United States government has been forced to grant concessions to the militant Negro liberation struggle, such as the U.S. Supreme Court decisions against segregated schools and interstate travel, in order to appear as the champion of freedom.

These reforms have tended to dissipate the true national character of the Negro liberation movement and has thus aided Wall Street's plan of containment within safe non-revolutionary channels.

(C) The barbaric, Nazi-like June decision of the United States Supreme Court outlaws one of the most progressive and dynamic forces on the American scene—the Communist Party of America! There can be no mistaking it: this decree, unconstitutional and loathsome to American democratic traditions as it is, in effect and in fact outlaws the Communist Party. This infamous verdict—equal in baseness only to the Dred Scott decision—stamps indelibly in the mind of world humanity the fact that the government of the United States has turned a corner and entered the same dark alleys of national policy through which the Hitlers and Mussolinis once dragged their helpless people.

The economic royalists, desperate because of the advancing tide of humanity toward emancipation, have suffered defeat after defeat in Cuba, Laos and in Gagarin's orbit around the earth. They are seeking to eliminate the catalytic agent which alone can reverse the reactionary trends within American society. But the best dreams and hopes of pioneering, democratic-minded Americans shall not cease with this governmental action against the Communist Party.

(D) The powerful outcry for peace on the part of the toiling masses of the world, led by the international peace forces, has temporarily halted the drive of the imperialists toward World War III. The tremendous technological development of the socialist nations has caused the majority of the American people to make a more sober estimate of world relations and to reject the lunatic fringe idea that an atomic war with the Soviet Union is a solution to the world's problems. All practical proposals leading toward real peaceful relations between the nations have so far been thwarted in our own country due to the control of the state machinery, sources of propaganda and the people's mass organizations, by the industrialists and their agents who think they will profit from war.

(E) In order to lead the struggle of the working class, the Negro freedom movement and the cause of all people sincerely seeking peace, more democracy and security, a party is needed that is firmly grounded in the science of social transformations and upheavals within modern society. We see as the ultimate solution to all of these quests of mankind a new classless society free of all exploitation, national oppression and economic insecurity. Moreover, the struggle to lead humanity to its ultimate goal—the determination of its own destiny—must be conducted in line with the thinking and traditions of the world's greatest teachers of social liberation.

- **For the resurgence of the American Labor Movement**
- **For the winning of the struggle for Negro Rights**
- **For an end to the cold war**
- **For economic security and higher mass living standards**
- **For the end of the exploitation of man by man**

Organize a new
AMERICAN LABOR-NEGRO VANGUARD PARTY

MEETING OF THE PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE
10 A.M., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 25 74 FIFTH AVENUE, N.Y.C.
Registration Fee: $2 in advance — (Adelphi Hall)

Clarence Coggins, Provisional Chairman
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CALENDAR

CHICAGO

Weekly! Soviet films with English titles. Fri. & Sat., 8 p.m.—Sun., 3 p.m. Russian Arts Club 2952 North Ave. Nov. 17-19: **MY APPRENTICESHIP** (rest of Gorky autobiography Dec. 1-3) Nov. 24-26: **ALEXANDER NEVSKY**

DETROIT

CUBA TODAY — Eyewitness Reports. Main speaker, **ED SHAW**, just returned from Cuba. Illustrated with color slides. Don. 50c. Central Congregational Church, 7625 Linwood (3 blks. N. of Grand Blvd.), Mon., Nov. 27, 8 p.m. Ausp: Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

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Sun., Nov. 19, 8 p.m. Color film, travel tips, music, refreshments. 234 W. 15 St., Apt. 56. Phone: DA 8-6154 afternoons. Next week: Mexico.

MON., NOV. 20, 8:15 P.M.
"GERMANY and the Question of a Demilitarized Zone in Central Europe." Hear **RUSS NIXON**, UE Wash. Representative, and **DRAGOLJUB VUJICA**, Director, Yugoslav Information Center, talk on these vital questions. Question and Answer Period follows talks. **HOTEL BEACON**, 75 St. & Broadway. Ausp: West Side Peace Committee.

WHICH WAY PUERTO RICO?
Forum: Sat., Nov. 18, 8:30 p.m., at 23 2nd Av. (bet. 1st & 2nd Sts.) first floor. Speakers: Max Nunoz, Ruth Reynolds. Ausp: Fair Play for Cuba Comm., East Side branch.

German Democratic Republic—Puppet or Independent State? Hear Lincoln Brigade delegates recently returned from the GDR. Fri., Dec. 1, 7 p.m., Academy Hall, 853 B'way. Ausp: GERMAN AMERICAN.

SCOTT NEARING talks on "Building the American Empire" at Beacon Hotel, Broadway and 75 St., Wed., Nov. 22, 8:30 p.m. Admission $1.

DON'T MISS
COLONIALISM: An Important Burning Issues Forum. Speakers from Algeria (F.L.N.), Cuba, Ghana. Mon., Nov. 20, 8 p.m., at 67 2nd Av. (ent. on 4 St.) Contribution 50c.

NEW YORK

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PHILIP S. FONER, eminent historian, will open the Fair Play for Cuba Committee's forum season with a talk on "The History of U.S.-Cuban Relations." Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Av., Mon., Nov. 20, 8:30 p.m. Contribution 75c.

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Sun., Nov. 19,—8 p.m. sharp
PROF. SCOTT NEARING speaks on Social Forces Changing the World.
Brighton Community Center,
3200 Coney Island Av., Brooklyn

WHY KHRUSHCHEV SMASHED THE STALIN "CULT". An analysis of the 22nd Soviet CP Congress: Speaker: **MURRY WEISS, editor** International Socialist Review. Fri., Nov. 17, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Cont. 50c. Auspices: Militant Labor Forum.

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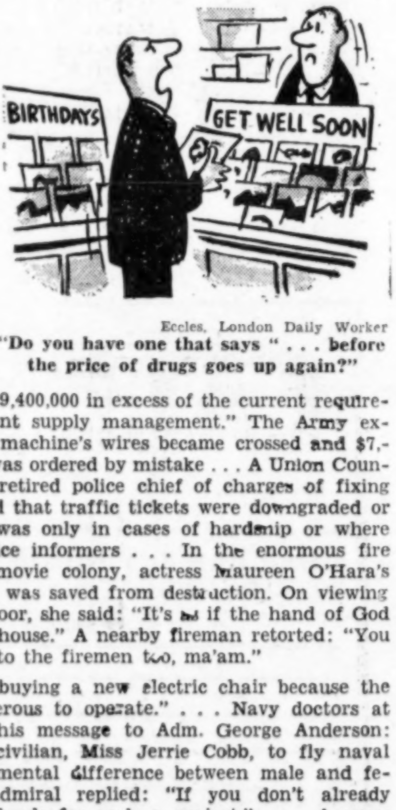
THE GALLERY

TWENTY SCHOOL CHILDREN in Edenbridge, England, petitioned to have the town's only movie theater reopened because they were "bored to tears with television." . . . Dr. Ronald Gibson, a prominent London physician, proposed at a conference on juvenile delinquency that girls wear chastity brooches to demonstrate virginity. "If a decent girl starts wearing them," he said, "I am sure others would follow." . . . Jacksonville, Fla., is planning a book burning. Circuit Judge John M. McNatt signed a permanent injunction against sale, distribution and possession of Henry Miller's **Tropic of Cancer.** When the vice squad rounds up all the copies, Sheriff Dale Garson said, the books will be burned . . . According to the San Francisco **Chronicle**, a wealthy unidentified Pacific Heights matron sent her maid to the polls Nov. 7 to vote for her. When election officials turned down the proxy vote, the matron called Registrar Charles Rogers and said: "I am fatigued today and my maid is an obedient girl." . . . Final tally of the small party vote in New York City indicated that the Socialist Workers Party got 7,241 votes and the Socialist Labor Party, 3,562. The pro-Goldwater United Taxpayers got 20,664 . . . To counter the Russians' 22nd Communist Party Congress, Charles H. Brower, president of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, proposed that Washington hold a "sales convention" to "sell America." He said: "We owe it to the world not to die being too noble."

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORP. banned an American recording by Chico Holiday of "God, Country and My Baby" because of its "hysterical attitude to the international situation." The BBC added: "It seems to us that this is the kind of sentimentality which may sometimes be justified in wartime, but it is not suited to a time of peace, when people are trying to keep their heads and behave sensibly in a difficult situation." . . . A General Accounting Office report to Congress said that the Army Ordnance Supply Management Agency in Orleans, France last year ordered "$9,400,000 in excess of the current requirements because of inefficient supply management." The Army explained that a calculating machine's wires became crossed and $7,-400,000 worth of material was ordered by mistake . . . A Union County, N.J., jury acquitted a retired police chief of charges of fixing traffic tickets. He admitted that traffic tickets were downgraded or dismissed, but he said it was only in cases of hardship or where tickets were issued to police informers . . . In the enormous fire which swept California's movie colony, actress Maureen O'Hara's house was damaged but it was saved from destruction. On viewing the destroyed house next door, she said: "It's as if the hand of God were pressed down on my house." A nearby fireman retorted: "You ought to give some credit to the firemen too, ma'am."



Eccles, London Daily Worker
"Do you have one that says " . . . before the price of drugs goes up again?"

SOUTH CAROLINA is buying a new electric chair because the old one is "too dangerous to operate." . . . Navy doctors at Pensacola recently sent this message to Adm. George Anderson: "Request permission for civilian, Miss Jerrie Cobb, to fly naval plane to study the fundamental difference between male and female astronauts." The admiral replied: "If you don't already know, refuse to approve funds for such a project." . . . A press release from the Republican National Committee, on campaign fund-raising activities, read: "Republican women across the country are peddling everything from watermelon pickles to praying mantises and selling their services for anything from getting in the hay to caddying for their golf-playing husbands." . . . The Florida Supreme Court last month declared unconstitutional a state law against nudists. The 1961 law provided that persons wishing to practice nudism had to apply for a permit. They had to be fingerprinted and submit photographs. Only two persons applied and neither was given a permit. But one lost his job when his application was made public.

An Air Force soldier pleaded guilty to the theft of 20 bedsheets from Lockbourne Air Force Base Hospital in Ohio. But the judge suspended sentence because he had been "punished enough" by his parents, who named him Fairytale Phillips . . . Women bowlers at Westbury Bowl on Long Island get a free serving of Metrecal.

—Robert E. Light

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Montreal rally

MONTREAL, QUE.

On Saturday, Sept. 30, a beautiful sunny afternoon in Montreal, a demonstration was held in Dominion Square with 700 mothers, children and fathers participating. The demonstration was called "to protest the resumption of nuclear tests and demand serious negotiations for disarmament."

Organized by a group of "Mothers for Peace," the event had the support of the Montreal Committee for the Control of Radiation Hazards, Citizens for Nuclear Disarmament and the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

In advance 15,000 leaflets were distributed and members of the group were interviewed by the press, radio and television. The demonstration carried all manner of signs, but the one which received the most attention was on a child's stroller: "Take me to a nursery, not to a shelter."

Name Withheld

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VRS 9013—THE WEAVERS ON TOUR—Tzena Tzena, Old Smoky, Filimiooreay, Drill Ye Tarriers, Clementine, Michael Row The Boat Ashore, So Long, etc.

VRS 9024—THE WEAVERS AT HOME—This Land, Santy Ano, Aunt Rhodie, All Night Long, Midnight Special, You Old Fool, etc.

VRS 9043—TRAVELING ON WITH THE WEAVERS—Twelve Gates to The City, Erie Canal, I Never Will Marry, Mi Caballo, Kumbaya, Hopsha-Diri, Greenland Whale Fisheries, Si Mi Quieries, Gotta Travel On, etc.

VRS 9075—THE WEAVERS AT CARNEGIE HALL, Vol. 2—Good Old Bowling Green, Sinking of the Reuben James, New Jerusalem, Subo, Marching to Pretoria, Tapuach Hineni, Stewball, Run Come See, On My Journey, Buttermilk Hill, Gallows Tree, Bill Bailey, etc.

VRS 9041—LEON BIBB SINGS FOLK SONGS—(with chorus and orchestra, Milt Okun conducting, Fred Hellerman, guitar). Songs include: Sinner Man, East Virginia, Turtle Dove, Darlin', Rocks and Gravel, Poor Lolette, Look Over Yonder, Red Rosy Bush, Take This Hammer, Skillet, Irene, etc.

VRS 9058—TOL' MY CAPTAIN, by LEON BIBB: Chain Gang and Work Songs—Midnight Special, Tol' My Captain, Sylvie, I Seen Little Rosie, Prettiest Train, Bald Headed Woman, This is the Hammer That Killed John Henry, etc.

VRS 9051—PAUL ROBESON AT CARNEGIE HALL—The recording of Robeson's last famous concert in America on May 9, 1958. (Includes the short reading from **Othello**, and a short reading and song from **Boris Godounov.**) Every Time I Feel the Spirit, Balm in Gilead, Volga Boat Song, O Thou Silent Night, My Curly Headed Baby, Old Man River, Going Home, Joe Hill and others.

VRS 9037—ROBESON—(with chorus and orchestra, Harriet Wingreen, piano)—Water Boy, Shenandoah, Deep River, John Brown's Body, Jerusalem, Londonderry Air, Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child, Get on Board, Little Children, The House I Live In, Loch Lomond, Drink To Me Only With Thine Eyes, Joshua Fought the Battle of Jericho, All Through the Night.

VRS 9076 — ODETTA AT CARNEGIE HALL—Red Clay Country, If I Had a Hammer, Jericho, Motherless Child, Meeting at the Building, Ain't No Grave Can Hold My Body Down, John Henry, Gallows Pole, John Riley, Hold On, etc.

VRS 9066—BALLAD FOR AMERICANS with ODETTA and the DeCormier Chorale Symphony of the Air—The great Earl Robinson-John LaTouche ballad, plus a selection of songs including This Land, On Top of Old Smoky, Payday at Coal Creek, Going Home, etc.

VRS 9049—MARTHA SCHLAMME SINGS JEWISH FOLK SONGS (with orchestra conducted by Robert DeCormier) Lomir alle freylech zein, Der Rebbe Elimelech, Zog Maran, Der Fetter Nuss'n, Margaritkelech, Tumba Tumba, Chazkele, Rozhinkes mit Mandlen, Teire Malke, Dos Pastuchi, Vos Villstu, S'dremlen Feygl oyf di Tsvaygn, Lomir sich Iberbeten, S'loifn S'yugn Schwartze Wolkns, Dana, Dana,

VRS 9078—JOAN BAEZ—Silver Dagger, East Virginia, Fare Thee Well, House of the Rising Sun, All My Trials, Wildwood Flower, Donna Donna, etc. With Fred Hellerman, 2nd guitar.

VRS 9085—NETANIA DAVRATH: SONGS OF THE AUVERGNE—15 captivating folk songs, arranged by Joseph Canteloube with an ancient air.

VRS 1045—ERICH KUNZ: German University Songs, Vol. IV; Includes Moorsoldaten, Die Gedanken sind Frei, Ich hatt'ein Kameraden, etc. With chorus and orchestra.

VRS 9048—KARMON ISRAELI FOLK SONGS. Vol. 1—Hava Nagila, VeDavid Roah Veroah, etc.

FOLK FESTIVAL AT NEWPORT

VRS 9063—VOLUME II: ODETTA (Joshua Fought the Battle of Jericho, Cotton Fields at Home, Bald Mountain and Water Boy), **JOAN BAEZ, BOB GIBSON** (Virgin Mary Had One Son, We Are Crossing the Jordan River), **THE NEW LOST CITY RAMBLERS** (Beware, O Take Care, When First Into This Country I Came, Hopalong Peter), **BARBARA DANE** (Little Maggie, Dink's Blues), **SONNY TERRY & BROWNIE McGHEE** (My Baby Done Changed The Lock on the Door, Pick a Bale of Cotton).

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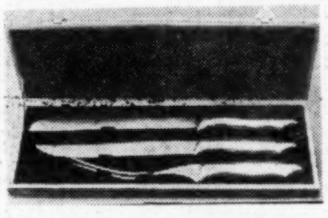

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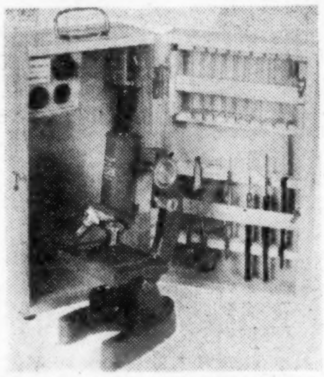
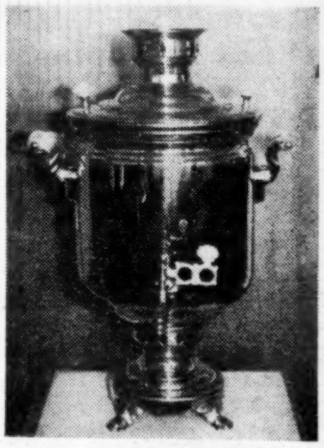
To keep up with events you need a map of modern Africa, showing the sixteen new nations admitted to the U.N. in the past two years. Here's a full color, laminated 50"x33" up-to-date Hammond map, suitable for hanging or framing. Mailed in a sturdy mailing tube. . ....**Just $3**

A New, Superior 1200x Microscope

B-191—An excellent, new 1200-power microscope is an ideal holiday gift for child or parent. The new 191 is a 4-turret unit with 9 power adjustments (100-power, 2-3-4-5-6-7-8-1000 and 1200), 2 eyepieces (10x and 15x), with mirror and illumination. Comes packed in hardwood box with 6-piece dissecting kit and slides. A real value at **$18.95**



SOVIET WATCHES! Men's or women's, stainless steel or gold-filled, automatic or stem-wound. Write for models and GBS prices.



A SAMOVAR?

You don't have to go without tea this winter when the power goes off in a windstorm. Just stoke up your samovar and the tea'll taste better than ever! Our GBS samovars are made in Tula, U.S.S.R., of heavy, nickel-plated brass, and come in both 5 and 7-litre capacities, with polished wood handles. **Low GBS prices: 5 litres—$45; 7 litres—$55, PLUS SHIPPING.**

Two lovely sets of holiday cards from Mexico!

PAZ, by David Alfaro Siqueiros, a color oil painting prepared for the GUARDIAN in Lecumberri Prison, Mexico City.

"Peace"—Siqueiros

DAVID ALFARO SIQUEIROS, imprisoned Mexican artist, has painted an extraordinary holiday greeting card exclusively for Guardian readers. PEACE" (above) has been reproduced in full, rich color on big 5¼" x 7¼", single-fold cards, free of a holiday message inside so they can also be used as note cards. They are packed 8 cards to a set, with white, vellum envelopes. All friends of peace will want this lovely card ....$2.

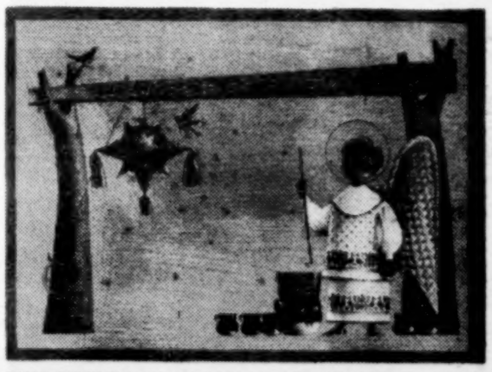
Bulk prices on request

"Christmas"-Hidalgo

RANGEL HIDALGO, noted Mexican artist, prepared this lovely set of four cards (right), boxed 10 to a set (2 of #509, 3 of #507, 4 of #508, and 1 of #501). The cards are reproduced in full color with gold borders, "4½ x 6", single fold, free of inside message, making them suitable as note cards. GBS has 1000 boxes only, so order now! For 10 cards of one kind only, specify number and add 25c for special collating and packaging. .... **$2.**

(Top to bottom) No. 509, 507, 508 and 501

Bulk prices on request



B53 "SPORT - OPERA" GLASSES —Here's a really exceptional pair of binoculars, not previously advertised—full 7-power magnification, and 18mm lenses. Body is chrome and black lacquer; individual focus, complete with case and strap, just....**$14.50**